1: Burrows--31-32 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 283, 462 Ifalik 1-3

"The principal use of coconut husks is to supply fiber--sennit--for cordage. Preparation of sennit (gos) is women's work. The husks are first soaked in fresh water to soften them, and dissolve some of the matter that holds the fibers together. If there are no natural pools about, as there are on the borders of the taro swamp on Falālap, artificial water-holes, called libwaligos, are dug and walled with blocks of coral. Men may do the work, but the finished pools are tabu to men. If a man goes into one, he will catch no fish for 20 days afterward, and will get sick if he even tries, --so they say.

When the fibers are sufficiently loosened, a woman takes them to the shore and sits in the shallow water with a short log or projecting coral head in front of her. This she uses as an anvil, laying the softened husks on it and beating them with a stick until the fibers separate. During the process she repeatedly dips them in the water and shakes them about to remove all but the fibers. Finally she takes these ashore and spreads them [32] in the sun to dry. They now form a light, fluffy mass.

From this point men take over. Making rope is the light work they carry about with them to sociable gatherings, as a woman may take her knitting in our culture. They make rope by the hour as they sit with their friends in the canoe houses. It does not interfere with talking or smoking.

The fibers are carefully picked over until they all lie parallel. Little tufts of them are pulled out and twisted, with one hand at each end, into single strands [KS: native word omitted] two or three feet long. When enough of these are on hand, they are rolled

together between palm and thigh--most often on the right, but sometimes on the left--into two-strand cord.

This cord can be made as long as desired. Its thickness, too, can be varied. The smallest is called golgaulIk. What seems to be the commonest size, about 1/8" to 3/16" in diameter, is golgol. A larger two-strand cord, about 3/8" in diameter, is geref. A third strand may be added to this by another rolling on the thigh; it is then called garotel. Stouter ropes, in order of increasing size, are taani, taliou rIk, and taliounap. Hawsers (tennap) are made of three strands of rope. In laying these, one man holds the finished end, and three others, each holding one strand, do a sort of maypole dance at the working end. When a piece a few feet long has been laid, it is slung over a beam, and the man holding the finished end leans back, using his weight to tighten it. On the other end the three holding separate strands do the same, ensuring a tightly-laid hawser.

Sennit cordage has an indefinite variety of uses. One of the most important is that of fastening together the timbers of canoes and houses, where it replaces the nails of our culture. Quite literally it accompanies the people of Ifalik from the cradle to the grave, for their cradles are strung with the cord, which forms bedsprings, and hung up by it; while enormous lengths of rope, brought by all the men as a last tribute, form the outer wrapping of a body when it is taken to sea for burial.

Another important use of sennit cordage is for making fishing nets. Light cotton

netting, used for dip-nets and a few light seines, is bought ready-made from abroad; but large seines (ating) 5 or 6 feet wide and up to 200 feet long, are made of golgol.

Leaves of coconut have many uses. With their leaflets plaited together in various ways, they make thatch for the roofs of houses, screens for the walls, and sitting mats for the floors. (These are described in some detail in the section on house-building, p. 46.)"

1: Burrows--32 (1947-48) Woleaians
462 Ifalik

"Baskets (wetau) of coconut leaf are carried about under men's arms, to do the work performed by pockets in our culture. They usually contain such personal gear as a bush knife, a small coconut grater, and smaller baskets of pandanus which hold tobacco and flint and steel. These coconut baskets are of several shapes. The cruder ones are quickly made of green leaf, plaited in check with the leaflet opened out to its full width. These are made by either men or women. The better ones are made of cured leaf, with the leaflets doubled and trimmed. This makes a basket of double thickness and of much finer wefts. This type is made only by women."

1: Burrows--36 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 241, 262, 462 Ifalik

"Taro is the staple starchy food of the trade-wind season, as breadfruit is of the season of westerly winds. This is not because more taro is available at one time than another--it can be harvested at any time--but because it is used most when breadfruit is scarce.

The limiting factor to the supply of taro on Ifalik is labor. The big swamp on Falālap has been planted to taro from time immemorial. More grows there now than can be eaten or taken care of, --especially since the laborious work of weeding and fertilizing it is left entirely to women."

"The cultivation of taro (geligeli) is exclusively women's work. It is done either singly or in small groups, such as mother and daughter. Clearing ground to prepare a new patch for planting would require more labor. Presumably, men would be called in for this; but as there is more land in taro than can be used, new patches are hardly ever cleared nowadays.

After planting, the main task is to cut and pull the weeds which threaten to choke out the small plants. A creeping grass whose roots run underground (buyol; Lepturus repens) seems to be the most troublesome. This is where wot needs more care; because it is smaller, for one thing. In places pulax grows eight feet high or more, and the plants crowd so thickly together that one walks under them in twilight. There the weeds are effectively shaded out. [38]

The weeds pulled are usually converted at once into green manure or compost by burying them between the rows of taro. Lagajorang, who gave us a demonstration of the wot planting, first dug a pit about 10 feet long, 3 feet wide and two feet deep. This she did in a surprisingly short time, working with her bare hands in the soft muck. Then she pulled grass and weeds along a neighboring row, laid this in the pit, and covered it over. Finally she brought young wot plants, about a foot long (baulax) from a patch nearby, where they had sprung up from suckers around a parent plant. These she stuck into the bed just prepared, pressing the earth well down and leaving a slight depression about each plant, presumably to hold water."

1: Burrows--83C (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 462, 226 Ifalik

"Catching crabs is women's work. The largest and most prized variety is the coconut crab, that lives in holes about the bases of trees. It my [sic] be smoked out of the hole, or dug out with a pointed digging-stick. The people know that these crabs come out at night, and can be hunted with torches; but this way of catching them is seldom practised. Other land crabs are occasionally gathered, and several kinds of sea crabs are caught by hand on the reef at low tide."

1: Burrows--83E (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226, 462 Ifalik

"Fishing, which involves a greater variety of techniques and apparatus than all the rest of the food quest, is men's work; almost exclusively, but not quite. Women rummage on the reef for crabs, shellfish and any fish which may have been left in shallow pools by the outgoing tide. Another kind of fishing they do is an extension of that process. It consists of surrounding with a mat or screen of coconut leaf a slab of coral that stands in shallow water. When it is all fenced in, they move the slab. There is an incantation to lighten this work:

Gērige vaul!	Come now, stone!
Trō le gurok bweje wāje!	Like a gurok leaf, be light!
Io! Gaje vā! Eu i langēia!	Oho! Be light! Rise up!

When the fish dart out from under the slab, they are stopped by the coconut leaf barrier, and caught in dip-nets.

It is said that women also make temporary fish weirs of plaited coconut leaf, which they set out along the reef, weighting the leaves down with blocks of coral. This is apparently not a common practise, at least during the part of the year when we were there. I never saw it done. The secondary part that women play in a bonito drive will be described later."

1: Burrows--83K-83L (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 286, 462, 226 Ifalik

"Seines (äting) are among the most important of all fishing devices on Ifalik. Seine-making is men's work, nearly always carried on in the canoe-houses. Sennit cord of the common size called golgol is wound on a netting needle or shuttle (zäp) of a form widespread in the Pacific. [83L] Most of those on Ifalik are cut out of a piece of split bamboo, from 1 foot to 18 inches long and about 2 inches wide. At each end prongs extend from the sides and nearly meet in the middle, leaving only a narrow opening for the cord (Fig. 21). The meshes are kept equal in size by use of a gage (äf). It is a slab of wood like a stubby ruler, averaging perhaps 5 inches long, 2 inches wide and 1/4 inch thick. The mesh of the nets is about 4 inches.

The seines are made in sections 2 1/2 to 3 feet wide. The first row of loops is attached to a stick that acts as a spreader. This is suspended from one of the tie-beams of the canoe-house. Other rows of loops are added downward. The knot used is illustrated in the Damm report. Two sections are joined to give the complete seine a width of 5 or 6 feet.

A row of wooden floats is attached along what will be the upper side. Most of these are plain blocks or slabs, but some are carved in ornamental shapes. A crude representation of a fish is one of the commonest. The other side is weighted with coral sinkers, unworked."

1: Burrows--85 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 462 Ifalik

"Groups whose membership is delimited by sex have only a temporary or intermittent existence. Usually, even then, they are united by some other bond in addition to that of common sex. Often the other bond is occupation. Groups of men or of women gather to perform some task allotted by custom to one sex alone, as fishing for men, cooking for women. Such groups disband on the completion of each task, unless they are also united by membership in the same household. Virtually all of them have the additional bond of residence in the same neighborhood. Hardly ever do all the men of the atoll, or all the women, act together without the participation of the other sex. War would bring about such a group of the men, but warfare in Ifalik is a thing of the rather remote past."

1: Burrows--111
116, 422, 431, 462

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Another approach to private property is handiwork, or some of it. Coarser baskets are made by either sex, and readily given or thrown away. If one is used more than once, it belongs to the person using it. If someone else wants one not in use, there is no hesitation about asking for it, or giving it. Finer baskets are made by women only, commonly for some man or boy of their household, or as a present to a lover. Once given, they become individual property, and are not readily given away."

1: Burrows--112 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 286, 422, 462 Ifalik

"Cloths are often woven by the women for immediate wear, whether by the maker or some other member of the household. Clothing once worn is rather definitely individual property, as it is almost everywhere. How much sharing of it there is among women, or men, of the same household, or among close friends, like the proverbial college room-mates in our culture, I could not make sure. Such sharing is not conspicuous, and my impression is that it is not very common. A man often keeps a loin-cloth in the neighborhood canoe-house, for a change. I never heard of anyone else touching such a cloth.

An industrious weaver will accumulate a surplus. They are her property in the sense that she has 'first say' as to their disposal. She may wear any of them herself, or give one to whomever she chooses. She may offer one to a god, to be hung up in the men's house. If anyone in her household asks for one, or perceptibly needs one, she will feel an obligation to give it; though she still has some choice about which one to give. If a relative or neighbor dies, she will be obliged to give one or more cloths or sleeping mats as an expression of grief and an honor to the dead, to be wrapped about the body."

1: Burrows--112
116, 283, 422, 462

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Rope made by the men follows exactly the same pattern. It is often made for immediate consumption, and readily given. If we were wrapping up a package for shipment, we had only to ask whoever was in the near-by canoe-house, saying what size we wanted and how long, and he would immediately make it for us, no matter how many coils might be hanging in the canoe-house ready for use. These were the property of their makers, to be used as they saw fit, and were never taken by others. But if rope were needed for any more or less communal use--lashing for a large canoe, or for the timbers of the canoe-house, or line for a seine, --every man of the community concerned would feel an obligation to contribute. I did not hear of shirking such an obligation, but have no doubt that if such a case came to the attention of a chief, he would order the man to give rope or make it. And every male relative or neighbor contributed rope after a death, to be wrapped about the body."

(1947-48)

"Labor

The emphasis in the following discussion, as distinguished from what has been said about work in the section on technology, is on the allotment of tasks among the population and the direction and organization of those in which more than one person takes part.

The fundamental line of cleavage in division of labor, that by sex, has been sketched here and there under 'Technology.' The following table affords a synopsis and adds some details, without pretending to be exhaustive. The tasks biologically allotted to women, bearing and suckling children, are not included. Nor is their time-consuming sequel, child care. One reason for this is that the care of children devolves to some extent on whoever is available for it. The main burden falls on the women. But older children keep an eye on younger ones to a greater extent than with us. And men love to play with children. Not only does a man frequently hold a small child on his lap or keep it near him when he is at home; he will often take one to the canoe-house, where other men may [113] help to keep it amused. But the main reason for dismissing this subject in a few words is that it is vital to Spiro's problem of personality formation, and will be fully discussed by him.

DIVISION OF LABOR BY SEX

1: Burrows--112-114
116, 462

(1947-48)

Woleaians-2
Ifalik

Activity	Women's Work	Men's Work	Both Sexes
Production of food	Planting, cultivating, & harvesting taro	Planting trees	Planting and gathering bananas
	Gathering wild plant foods	Gathering coconuts & breadfruit	
		Making & collecting toddy	
	Fishing about boulders in shallow water (infrequent)	Fishing by the commonest methods: with hook & line, traps, weirs, & nets	Bonito drive: when a school enters lagoon (women's role subordinate).
	Gathering shellfish & other sea-food on exposed reef by day	Torchlight fishing with dip-nets, on reef and in lagoon	Scouring reef at night in household or family parties.
	Digging coconut crabs	Gathering small crabs to bait traps	

1: Burrows--112-114
116, 462

(1947-48)

Woleaians-3
Ifalik

Activity	Women's Work	Men's Work	Both Sexes
		Making nets, traps & other fishing tackle.	
Preparation of food	Grating coconuts, extracting cream.		
	Preparing taro & breadfruit		
	Daily cooking in cook-sheds	Occasional cooking in earth oven, when large fish are caught or a hog butchered	
	Cooking for feasts and for work-gangs	Broiling fish to be shared by fishermen or other working parties	
		(No. 1 chief only: butchering and cooking	

1: Burrows--112-114
116, 462

(1947-48)

Woleaians-4
Ifalik

Activity	Women's Work	Men's Work	Both Sexes
		turtle)	
		Carving wooden bowls (obsolescent)	Making coral pounders to mash taro & breadfruit
House-building	Plaiting screens and floor-mats	Hewing, fitting and assembling timbers	(Mostly youths) Gathering & strewing coral gravel for [114] floors & platforms
		Putting thatch on roof	Plaiting thatch-sheets
Canoe-building		Hewing, fitting &	

1: Burrows--112-114 (1947-48) Woleaians-5
116, 462 Ifalik

Activity	Women's Work	Men's Work	Both Sexes
		assembling timbers; painting hull	
	Plaiting strips of mat for sail	Assembling and rigging sail	
Navigation		All navigation	
Preparation of clothing	Preparation of bast for weaving	Making looms	Preparing head-dresses, garlands & other finery
	Weaving & dyeing		
	Assembling belts, necklaces and other ornaments of shell	Cutting shell and turtle shell into beads for belts, strips for	

1: Burrows--112-114
116, 462

(1947-48)

Woleaians-6
Ifalik

Activity	Women's Work or turtle-shell*	Men's Work bracelets, etc.*	Both Sexes
Basketry	Plaiting baskets of cured, doubled coconut leaf Plaiting pandanus baskets		Plaiting makeshift baskets of green coconut leaf.
Mats	All plaiting of mats		
Cordage	Preparing sennit fiber	Twisting rope	

The arrangement by activities, though it seemed on the whole more illuminating than any other, obscures some generalizations that could be indicated more clearly in some

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"* Working in shell is a rather infrequent task. Necklaces and ear-ornaments are not abundant; and while nearly every woman has a belt, most of these are obtained by trade from other islands, especially Eaurupik."

other way. For example, woodwork, even the making of such a woman's implement as the loom, is virtually a monopoly of the men; while weaving and plaiting, except for makeshift coconut baskets, are women's monopoly."

1: Burrows--114
116, 462, 285

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Men are not scorned, however, if they trespass into basket-making. The chief Maroligar had learned on another island--Faraulep, I think--how to plait a large, round basket of doubled coconut leaf that the women found convenient for storing fiber for weaving. Maroligar made several of these baskets for female relatives. This seems to be one of the matters in which room is left for individual taste and aptitude. Maroligar was much more industrious than most of the men; deft with his hands, and something of a putterer. Some of the things he enjoyed doing reminded me of a weather-skipper I once knew, who took to knitting as a pastime at sea."

1: Burrows--115
116, 462, 562

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Although the number of tasks allotted to men and to women in the table is about the same, most of the time-consuming drudgery falls to the women. Whenever we suggested this to any of the men, they admitted that it was so. Their stock defense against the implication that they were not doing their full share was: 'But we do the dangerous kinds of work. We are the ones who risk our lives at sea, and climb trees to gather coconuts and toddy.' Men also do the kinds of work that require extreme muscular effort, as lifting heavy timbers into place in the superstructure of a house, and extreme endurance, as a long sea-voyage (women take such voyages, but less often). Women certainly have their time more fully taken up with work than men do. And their work, if less risky, is more monotonous. On the whole, they have far the harder time of it.

Nevertheless, the women can hardly be called downtrodden. Though ostensibly subordinate in most matters, their work is not supervised by men. In accordance with the high value placed on kindly speech, they are not ordered about. Within the limits set by tradition, they manage to do as they please a good deal of the time. They make use of their sexual attractiveness to win at least occasional deference. Several times the chief Maroligar came to us, rather sheepishly, to request a can of meat or fish for his ailing wife. Our impression was, not that he was using her as a pretext, but that he was somewhat henpecked."

1: Burrows--120-121
116, 462, 476, 574

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The role of women in this task [KS: manufacture of a new seine] followed the usual pattern. In the first place, women had prepared the fiber of which the cord was made. This was individual work. Toward the end of the job women took part in groups. While men [121] from all the districts took their sections of net, mostly unfinished, to the Falālap canoe-house and went on with the work there, the women of Falālap prepared food for the assemblage. On the first day of this, I counted 24 bowls and baskets, and believe there were some others that escaped my count. On what was officially the final day (actually some finishing touches took several days after that), a still larger gathering required a still larger feast, this time contributed from all parts of the atoll. My count that time was 52 baskets and pots; and later a canoe came from Falārlk, loaded high with more, which I did not manage to count."

1: Burrows--181-182 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 462, 784, 283 Ifalik

"The artificial pools of fresh water in which coconut husks are soaked to loosen the fibers in preparation for making sinnet are taboo to men. These pools, (called lip wa li gos) are dug among coconut groves, always at some distance from a dwelling. The work of digging them and walling them with blocks of coral may be done by men, or by men and women together. The final use of the fibers prepared partly in them--that of twisting cordage--is exclusively men's work. But the soaking of the husks is strictly women's work, and men may not enter the pools, once they fill up with water. If a man violates this taboo, he will be unable [182] to catch fish for 20 days; and if he tries to, will fall sick."

2: Damm et al. --27 [3] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 241, 462 Ifaluk

The cultivation of taro is considered a feminine task; men only help occasionally, and quite unwillingly. Women plant the tuberous fruit in old ditches, (bóalu), and for this purpose they use a digging stick (gót), which is often sharpened at both ends. It is possible that the other pointed weapons may also be utilized in this fashion. Leaves serve for fertilizer (wáli). Women plant bananas inside and along the ditches too.

The men attend to the care of the coconut palms and the bread-fruit trees. The head chief superintends all the cultivation of the land.

2; Damm et al. --32 [3] (1909) 1938 - - Woleaians
116, 252, 462 Ifaluk

Women prepare the food, and steam it in earth ovens (felán); these are similar to the ones used throughout Micronesia and Polynesia; you seldom find dishes roasted over an open fire.

2: Damm et al. --42
462

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Ifaluk

Braiding is women's work.

2: Damm et al. --74-75
116, 462

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Ifaluk

The man takes care of the construction of the house and of the canoe; he does the fishing, cultivates the bread-fruit and coconut palm trees, mades fish nets, dishes, net pouches and prepares the [75] palm wine (gāri). The woman does the cooking and light physical work like plaiting and weaving; she also goes out in the fields to plant the different kinds of taro and attend to bananas; their fine leaf strips are used to make loin aprons.

2: Damm et al. --164 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
462 Faraulep

The men prepare the fields, but the women do the real cultivation....

The men take care of the coconut palms, but the other fruit trees are left to the women.

2: Damm et al. --169 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 462, 322 Faraulep

The men did all the wood work. They made bowls, covers for boxes, coconut graters, combs, weapons, canoes and parts of the huts.

2: Damm et al. --190 [4] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 462 Faraulep

The work is divided between the husband and wife;

the man:	the woman:
clears the land	cultivates the taro
lays out the bread-fruit plantations	cultivates the sweet potatoes
cooks in the canoe-house	prepares the food
makes ropes	does the weaving.
builds canoes	
builds the house	

4: Krämer--185 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 226, 335, 462 Woleai

Fishing is the main occupation of the men in addition to the construction of houses and canoes. It is practiced inside the lagoon and on the high seas. The implements used are spears, and fishing lines, traps, and nets that are laid out on fishing banks.

4: Krämer--230 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 241, 462 Woleai

The men clear the bush; the clearings are known as táravol. The earth, módjor, is broken up with an oar-like instrument, the digging stick golálivol (Figure 97 [VMM: see source]). The women plant the taro, but occasionally men do the job if they know how to go about it. Leaf fertilizer is called vāl.

4: Krämer--231 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 252, 462 Woleai

Cooking is the job of the women, who also weave in the cooking house (Lütke). A type of cooking school exists.

Kitchen utensils

Coconut shell (as drinking bowl), tagag e lúul; water bottle, baradjal.

Spoon, itit (Figure 98) [VMM: see source]. We also found tortoise shell spoons from Palau, and Hellwig found drinking tubes.

Eating spatula, Hellwig: gátik (fishtail: perál), atek from turtle bone, Figure 99 [VMM: see source], Krämer shows one 29 centimeters long. It is used for cracking a coconut, scraping it, and eating it.

6: Senfft--56
116, 462

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

It is the women's task to take care of the children and to perform all the household tasks.

11: Born--186
116, 462

(1903) 1904

Woleaians
Woleai

The main task of the women is the preparation of food and the weaving of mats. The people of Jap consider the women of Oleai very lazy, but that is doing them an injustice. Most women and girls are busy from morning till night.

Formerly the women used pots which were made of large sea shells; today most of them use iron pots for cooking. They keep food in wooden plates and oval-shaped dishes; these have no supports or ornaments of any kind.

The women and girls are also expert at handling the canoes for rowing; they have as much endurance, and they paddle as quickly as the men. I have seen many of them row out beyond the lagoon without men.

(1903) 1904

The most difficult task of the women is weaving, which they do with great skill and taste. This is very slow work and requires a great deal of patience. It may take months to weave a single mat. Even the preparation of [187] banana and hibiscus fibers, cleaning and dyeing them, takes a great deal of time and care. The loom, paap, is attached to a belt, talletói, worn by the weaver. The sword, which beats down the weft, is made of black jengi wood which has a high natural polish; the term for sword is gopóp (opóp on Ruck). The term for shuttle is gasáp (asáp on Ruck).

They make narrow belts for men, wide mats for women, and large plain mats which are made of hibiscus fiber; the mats used for clothing are made of banana fiber. These large mats are used as a protection against mosquitoes and as a cover for the marr paste after it has been washed.

The pattern most frequently used is black and white longitudinal stripes; there are seven black and six white stripes. There are more attractive mats, which have three narrow black vertical stripes in the center and horizontal stripes at the ends. There is a large variety of horizontal patterns; I have never seen two that were identical.

Recently, a few women have been using red aniline to dye the fiber.

The average price of a mat is approximately equivalent to one Mark.

"The Ifaluk economy does not fit into any of the classical 'stages,' at least not in a pure form, for this is a fishing-agricultural society, both aspects being of equal importance. However, as one might expect in a population of 250 people, there is no division of labor, though there is specialization. This statement, however must be qualified for there is a sexual division of labor, though the division is not a sharp one, except in one or two matters. Nor is the labor of one sex taboo to the other, or provoke a shame-reaction on the part of one performing the economic function of the opposite sex. For example, women do engage in reef fishing at low tide, though this is normally men's work, and men will assist their wives in the taro patches, though this is women's work. Furthermore, in heavy construction work the men do not scruple to call upon the assistance of the women at certain stages in the work. By and large, however, sexual division of labor is defined, each sex making its own unique contribution to the productive aspect of the economy. This dual division is indispensable to the maintenance of any household, for each household is a self-sufficient economic unit, so that the dereliction of either sex with respect to his productive role, would result in economic collapse. It is little wonder that economic proficiency is one of the first criteria demanded of a prospective spouse.

The men are responsible for all construction work-canoes, houses, canoe-houses--

the manufacture of rope, seines, fish-traps; the tending of the breadfruit and coconut trees, as well as the planting of coconut sprouts, collection of toddy, and the picking of coconuts, and fishing. The women are responsible for the cooking; the weaving of skirts and loin cloths; the manufacture of thatch, mats, baskets, and canoe-sails; the preparation of sennet for the making of rope and the planting and care of the taro patches.

Both men and women are responsible for private and public cleaning. Since Dr. Burrows has made a special study of Ifaluk technology, my discussion of the productive process will neglect this aspect, except where necessary for clarity, and will be concerned primarily with the cultural or institutional character of these activites."

28: Spiro--33 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 462, 283, 556 Ifalik

"The one ubiquitous activity engaged in by the men is the making of rope. Rope is indispensable for it is the universal fastener. In the absence of nails every object that requires the adhesion of parts requires the use of rope. But rope has other uses as well. One of the important objects used in Ifaluk's inter-atoll trade is rope. Rope forms part of the tribute that Ifaluk pays to Yap. And finally, when a person dies, his corpse is wrapped in an almost fantastically copius amount of rope. Rope, functions both as a crucial element in the subsistence economy, as well as an important factor in the prestige economy, since it is a sign of wealth. A man with little rope is looked down upon. Every man, then, desires to accumulate as much rope as possible, and spends the major part of his productive energies in its manufacture."

28: Spiro--35 [2]
116, 358, 476, 462

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"If a canoe-house needs repair, the chief of the district will inform the men, and on the scheduled day, they will assemble for the task. If it is a relatively minor task, only the men of the district will cooperate in the work, but if it is a major one, all the men of the island will assist, and at times, many from the other island will participate. In other public works, the thatching of a roof, or the clearing of the bush, the women assist as well, and where women participate there is a complete separation of the sexes, the men confined to one section, the women to another."

28: Spiro--35 [3]
116, 462, 342, 476

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"If a roof is to be thatched, it is the task of the men to cut off the coconut branches from which the thatch is to be made. Both men and women bring the branches to the canoe-house, and then the women weave the branches into thatch, after which the men climb onto the roofs to do the thatching. Here, too, there is a division of labor according to age, for generally speaking, it is the younger men who climb the roof to put on the thatch, while the older men stand below and pass the thatch to those standing on the roof."

28: Spiro--35 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 462, 476, 358 Ifalik

"The participation of the women is not always restricted to the lighter work. Where man-power is required, as in the raising of the entire frame of the canoe-house, which is accomplished by a complicated lever principle, the women work with the men in pulling and straining on the ropes which lift the frame."

28: Spiro--35 [5] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 462, 476, 351 Ifalik

"In public clearing the men and women work separately, though there is little division of labor except that the women seem to bear the brunt of the labor. The entire population of a district, including the young children, clean the wooded sections of the island immediately behind the village, or the cleared ground in the area of the canoe-houses. The actual interior of the island, of course, is not cleaned or cleared. In this work the people work in small groups, some clearing up, some digging pits for the disposal of the refuse, others carrying the brush to the sea, where it is burned on the beach or allowed to float away. The women and men work separately, each small work-gang, being comprised of one sex only. As mentioned above the women seem to bear the brunt of the work, for they have the arduous job of digging the pits and of doing the hand weeding, while the men worked on the heavier grasses, with their long knives. Furthermore, the men complete their work much earlier than the women, returning to their homes, while leaving the women to do the final odds and ends."

28: Spiro--40 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 462, 226, 834 Ifalik

"The women are not inactive, for while the men fish along the shore, the women are preparing starch foods to be eaten with the fish. When the men are after a school of fish, the women dance and sing. For reasons, which no one could explain, except by the universal explanation of 'from before', the women perform a bwaruch while the men engage in this kind of fishing. A bwaruch is a love song-and-dance. Normally it is performed by a woman for her sweetheart as a prelude to lovemaking. The dance is very suggestive and lascivious, and the words to the song are quite candid, in their reference to sexual anatomy and physiology. Yet, while the men are engaged in catching the fish, the women assemble on the beach, one or two households together, and perform these dances, and sing the songs sometimes entering the water.

When the men return with their catch, it is taboo for small children and women to witness them or the fish, and they must retire to their homes until the fish is unloaded on the shore and distributed.

There are other taboos connected with fishing. The men may not have sexual intercourse the evening preceeding a fishing expedition, for they 'stink' and Solal, the god of the ocean will make them sick. After a fishing expedition the men may not have sexual intercourse, nor may they work, for three days. Should they violate this taboo the fish will not bite in the future."

28: Spiro--41
116, 226, 462, 834

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The second category [WPM: see p. 40] of fishing is the three month fishing period at the beginning of the westerlies. Fishing during the other seasons of the year is sporadic because fish are not abundant. But in these three months the 'flying fish' are found in large quantities, and the men catch them in the open sea at night by the light of flaming torches. This period is characterized by the complete separation of the sexes. The men and boys sleep in the canoe-houses and are brought food by the women who sleep alone in their houses with the babies. All sexual relations are completely taboo during these three months."

28: Spiro--42 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 462, 252, 527 Ifalik

"The women's economic activities have been enumerated above, and need little technical explanation. The cooking is done in the cook-sheds, usually a number of women in the household working together. In the preparation of food for feasts two and three households may cooperate. Most cooking is performed over the open fire; the um, the underground stone oven distributed universally thoughout Oceania, being used only on the occasion of feasts."

28: Spiro--42 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 241, 462 Ifalik

"The Taro is the only plant that needs expensive care-planting, weeding, fertilizing, weeding, and this is the women's responsibility. It is hard, hot, labor, and usually all the women of a household, and sometimes two or three, work together on their own plots of land. As a result of this sexual specialization, the women are the botanical experts. When asked the names of different varieties of taro, Tom admitted his ignorance and referred us to his wife, saying that the women knew the names, but the men were ignorant of them, since horticulture was not their work. Despite the heat, a woman may not drink from a coconut while in the taro patch. Should she violate the taboo, the taro will not grow."

28: Spiro--42 [3]
116, 462, 291, 286

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The women weave their skirts and loin-cloths on a true loom. The fabric of which these clothes are made is the bark of the hibiscus or banana tree, which is stripped into long threads. These threads are allowed to dry in the sun, and are then dyed in natural dyes, made by immersing certain kinds of coral into water, creating a chemical reaction, so that the water assumes the color desired, and in turn dyes the thread. Young girls are taught to strip the bark into thread, and to tie the thread together, and in their early teens they are already weaving. But the job is an arduous one, even the most skillful women requiring a minimum of two weeks to complete a skirt, if she does nothing else but weave."

28: Spiro--42 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 462, 517 Ifalik

"The women's tasks are more numerous and time-consuming than the men's, so that it is not unusual to see the men sitting in the canoe-houses with nothing to do, but quite unusual for the women."

28: Spiro--70 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 755, 784, 462, 778 Ifalik

"The people returned to their homes, work and sexual relations being taboo. The next day there was to be a feast, and that night the men went fishing after the appearance of the moon. The next morning the men resumed their fishing, while the women prepared taro and breadfruit. (Dr. Burrows and I contributed two tines of beef). It was not until late afternoon that we started for Falalap. As we approached we saw the women sitting around the shrine singing, while making garlands. The possessed man was still semi-delirious and would break into song at unpredicable intervals.

The shrine was then completely encircled by garlands, after which others were distributed among all the people assembled. Arogeligar announced that the alus had informed him that the American visitors were very fine men, and that they should receive garlands.

The chiefs then gave their permission to begin eating. This time, the sexes were not spearated, because the people sat in family groups, except for the chiefs who ate together with the ethnographers. At the conclusion of the meal, the people disbanded and returned to their homes."

28: Spiro--113-114 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 462, 858, 562 Ifalik

"In economic life, the children have certain responsibilities, though here there is an important sexual differential. The little girls begin to assume domestic responsibilities much before the boys, so that the boys of seven or eight may be seen playing in their gangs, while the girls at that age are at home, helping their mothers with the cooking, caring for a younger sibling, collecting flowers for garlands, etc. When a girl reaches the age that she wears a grass skirt, she becomes a mother surrogate to the younger children. She carries them with her, watches over their play, washes them, feeds them, and in general supervises their activities. A boy may, if he likes, perform any of these tasks, but a girl is delegated these responsibilities. The girl assists her mother in household work, helping her to clean the house, and helping in the cooking. By the time she is seven or eight, she is making threads for skirts. She actually does not begin to make or even assist in the making of skirts until after puberty, but she does tie the strips of bark into thread.

The boys this age have no definite economic responsibility, though they may and do assume some on their own initiative. For example, when the men prepare to go [114] fishing, the young four and five year old boys will assist in minor tasks, such as gathering coconut-midribs to be used as skids for the canoes, or to fetch some article which the men wish to use. As the boys get older, they begin to act on their own initiative, particularly with regard to fishing. Boys from the seventh or eighth years may be seen

going surf fishing with their fishing poles, or accompanying an older youth in lagoon fishing in canoes. The older pre-pubertal lads and young adolescents practically have a monopoly on one kind of fishing, the shore trap fishing for the small fish. There are certain seasons of the year when fish, the size of a sardine comes into the lagoon, which the natives catch in a stone trap, or in coconut traps, which they place in the water. Every morning, and some afternoons, the lads mentioned above are busy at work catching these fish. And, it is to be stressed, this is done without adult pressure or orders, but on their own initiative."

28: Spiro--114-115
116, 883, 462, 226, 184

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The young men are accepted members of the society, doing any activity which their experience permits them to do. All toddy gathering is the job of the young man of the household. Like the men, they make rope. They participate in all communal fishing, and often fish on their own intitiative, particularly fishing in the lagoon. [115] In all construction work the young men are most conspicuous, for though they do not plan or direct the activity, they do most of the heavy work. If a roof needs to be relaid, it is the young men who are on the roof, and the older men hand them the material from the ground. In the making of canoes, the young men and boys have their share of the work, though it is usually the less-skilled work. One of the older young men might make his own canoe, and though he is assisted by an older man, the responsibility is his.

The young men also take social or economic responsibility on their own initiative. If the canoes are outside the canoe-houses, and it begins to rain, they will themselves remove the canoes from the rain without being told to do so by the older men. The point that is being stressed here is that the young men feel themselves integral members of the culture, and assume responsibility for the perpetuation of the group and its culture."

28: Spiro--133-134
116, 581, 462, 831

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"When I asked my informants why people marry, I provoked great laughter. The men looked at me with amazement, as if I were incredibly naive, and then Auelimar, [134] the oldest of the men raised his hands towards me, and forming a circle with the forefinger and thumb of his left hand, thrust the forefinger of his left hand into it[sic]--an obvious symbol of intercourse. When the laughter had died away, I pointed out that men and women could have sexual relations without marriage, so there must be other reasons as well for marrying. They replied that if a person did not marry, people would talk about him, implying that the unmarried state is not quite normal. And all would ask him, 'Who will give you chow?' This is a recurrent theme, in the case of both males and females--a spouse is necessary in order to obtain food. In a culture which has a strict sexual division of labor with respect to the production and preparing of food, this factor does assume importance. Yet there seems little doubt that sex is the preeminent reason for marriage, other factors being equal. This is indicated further by the response of my informants to the question as to whether the institution of marriage to inanimate objects is practiced.' Suppose she no alive, what he copulate?', was the immediate response, rather than, 'suppose she no alive who cook for him?'"

"If a husband and wife should walk through the village together, the wife always follows behind him, never preceeds him. But what was most impressive with respect to this differential treatment of the sexes was the following treatment, which I observed at each religious ceremony. The religious ceremonies are usually held on Falalap. A channel of about 30 yards separates the two islands. Ordinarily the people walk across the channel, since the water at its highest point only reaches to their chest. Now the people 'dress-up' for the ceremonies--new skirts or loin cloths, painted faces, flower garlands, feather head-dresses, etc. It is understandable that they do not wish to get wet. Consequently what amounts to a ferry service is set up. The young men paddling canoes back and forth across the channel bearing passengers. But the passengers are almost invariably men! Since time is short, and there are not too many canoes, the men ride across, but the women wade through the water, despite the fact that the men would dry off sooner than the women, since they wear only loin cloths. Their answer to this differential treatment was that the men do the hard and dangerous work, whereas women's work is light. 'Man work strong. Woman no can work, for too hard. He work on canoe and house for woman. Very hard work that man. Woman-work more down. Man work on tree, maybe he fall down. [136] He catch fish, maybe shark cut him.' This is most interesting in view of the fact that women actually work much harder and longer than

men. Women almost always have work to perform, whereas the men spend hours just sitting about in the canoe houses. Men's work may theoretically be more dangerous, but no one has ever fallen from a tree, and the men know of only one case in which a man was attacked by a shark. These reasons, therefore, are patent rationalizations."

28: Spiro--144 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 264, 512, 462 Ifalik

"There is no family noon meal either. There is usually some cooked food in the house by noontime, which the members of the family may consume together. If the men have no special economic activity which keeps them busy, they may return to their homes to eat. On the other hand, if they are occupied in some communal work, they do not eat at all until they complete the job, and then will eat in the canoe houses, the food having been prepared by the women. If engaging in ordinary sustained work, such as construction of a canoe, the men will eat about noon, but again they will eat in the canoe houses-coconuts, small fish caught in the traps, and/or prepared taro or breadfruit brought by the women. The boys, young and old, may eat with the men, if they are helping in the work, they may go home to eat, or, if they had caught some small fish, or crabs, they prepare them themselves, and eat along the beaches, rather than take them home. This means that the women and girls are the only ones at home at noon, and they usually eat together."

28: Spiro--146 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 512, 462, 517 Ifalik

"The women spend their days in various activities. If they work in the taro patches, they remain the entire morning and part of the afternoon. Otherwise, they may cook or work on a skirt, or look after the house. Like the men, the women do not like to work alone, and usually gather in groups for their work, at which time conversation and gossip, as well as singing, are all part of the day's activity. Some of the work, like cooking is enhanced by the women working in groups. But usually, the work itself is entirely individualistic, the gathering together, being entirely for reasons of sociability and conversation."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

five chief) weighed 182 pounds with a height of 5' 7½". Wolpaitig came closest of any man on the island to having a paunch. 141 561

The women were considerably more under American averages for height or weight. They were generally only an inch or so over or under five feet, weighing not much over a hundred pounds. The heaviest, a matron named Ietili of the Garotrong household, weighed 150 pounds, and was 5' 1½" tall. Ted suspected that the small size and light weight of the women was a consequence of the fact that they carried out the regular toil of the island—the heavy gardening work of the taro swamps as well as the work around the houses. 141 562 [462]

The Ifalukians would be classed as Micronesians: but what that means is anybody's guess. "Micronesia" is a geographical term to cover the hundreds of "tiny islands" of the Marianas, the Carolines, the Marshalls and the Gilberts. The inhabitants of these island groups, the Micronesians, are hardly to be distinguished from the more famous Polynesians: a rapid survey of several anthropology texts shows that the two are more often classed together than not. The inhabitants of the various island groups of Micronesia are certainly more diverse, both culturally and physically, than the inhabitants of Polynesia: but the similarities among all of these light-skinned people of the Pacific are greater than their differences. And the problem of the origin and history of the Ifalukians, of the Caroline Islanders, of the Micronesians, cannot be separated from the much-discussed problem of the origin of the Polynesians. 101

I think part of the European fascination with Polynesia (which would apply equally to the people of the central Carolines) comes from the fact that these people look very much like ourselves. The features of the Ifalukians were very European, and I amused myself by noting resemblances in certain individuals, in features or apparent characters, to particular friends or acquaintances in the States. The people were not really dark-skinned: both Don and I acquired a skin color within a month that matched the Ifalukian average, as determined by frequent comparisons of arms placed side by side. A pair of naked legs walking by the Fan Nap, observed under the low over-hang of thatch, could not be identified as Ifalukian or American. The Ifalukians 142 [144]

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

are "natural" and to what extent man-made, because they have been subject to careful cultivation for many generations. The care of the gardens is exclusively women's work and they become expert gardeners. The plants are set in neat rows in rectangular patches, each patch belonging to a particular household so that each household on the atoll has its share of the large Falalap gardens. Weeds grow luxuriously in the rich, mucky soil, and weeding is the main gardening chore. The weeds, I was interested to see, are always buried in the muck, so the practice of "green manuring" is an ancient one here. With young plants, coconut leaves were sometimes used as mulch, to cut down the growth of weeds.

I was greatly impressed, watching these women go about their work, at how little a Westerner would be able to tell them about gardening practices, at how well their methods were adapted to the plants and environment of their atoll. Perhaps one could put this another way, and wonder at how little modern "civilized" man with all his science has been able to improve on, or change, the gardening practices developed by peasant cultures through generations living close to the earth. We have made drastic changes in large-scale agriculture, but the gardener, throughout the world, shares a curiously large fund of common lore.

But I had intended to write here about food, not about agricultural methods. Wot and pulach were eaten to some extent, even during the breadfruit season, just as the preserved breadfruit (mar) was eaten to some extent at other times of the year, making some variation in the daily monotony of starch. There were many slightly different ways of cooking these tubers. We liked best a way of preparing wot (*Colocasia*) whereby it was mashed, cooked with coconut cream, moulded into little balls in a pot, and the whole covered with a thick paste of coconut meat. The effect was a little like that of mashed sweet potatoes served with heavy whipped cream.

Coconut, of course, permeated every aspect of Ifalukian cooking—the milk from green nuts and ripe nuts, the flesh from green nuts and ripe nuts, the sap from the cut flower stalks (here called hachi, perhaps best called "toddy" in English). The coconut was more often used as a supplement in cooking breadfruit or taro, as a seasoning, or the